1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Farmers' Association has problems. The farmer who grows rice as his second crop must save some of his rice from the November harvest in order to make the 40 percent payment for the fertilizer for the first rice crop in February or March. If this rice is stored it is in constant danger from rodents, but if the farmer eats or sells his rice, he must then buy rice in the spring at the higher off-season price, in order to make the 40 percent payment for the fertilizer needed in February or March.

A larger problem concerns the association's role in collecting the farmers' rice for the Food Bureau. (This same problem arises when the farmer makes payment in rice after the harvest for land tax, land reform land, and the enforced rice sale to the government. This will be discussed later.) In order to deliver his rice to the Farmers' Association almost three miles from Hsin Hsing, the farmer must either use an oxcart or make several trips by bicycle. To save time and energy, he may hire an oxcart if he does not own one. The rice will not be accepted by the Farmers' Association (acting for the Food Bureau) if it is not dry enough. If this happens, the farmer must take his rice home again and dry it further.

Today, some people in the area who own oxcarts and who have enough capital to maintain large stores of dry rice make it a business to take over the full responsibility of delivering the farmers' rice to the Farmers' Association in acceptable condition. These people obtain the names of farmers and the amount of rice they owe to the government from the Farmers' Association. They then pick up the rice of the willing farmer and give him a guarantee, in the form of a receipt, specifying that the businessman agrees to take over the farmer's responsibility for the rice payment. If the farmer's rice is not dry enough, the agent can then use his own rice stores to make payment. The charge to the farmer for this service is 5 percent in kind of the rice delivered. Many farmers use this service in order to relieve their anxiety over the possible refusal of their rice and also to eliminate the problem of finding a means of delivery.

Still other problems face the farmer under the government's system of fertilizer distribution. When the farmer acquires his fertilizer through the Farmers' Association, he must take the kinds and amounts of fertilizer being sold, regardless of what he would like or thinks he needs. And, in order to buy the ammonium sulphate fertilizer which is necessary for the rice crops, the Hsin Hsing area farmer must also buy a good deal of nitrogen calcium (known as "black fertilizer") which is used mainly for sugarcane and sweet potatoes. The farmers in southern Taiwan, who grow more sugarcane, must take the ammonium sulphate as well as the nitrogen calcium fertilizer. The result is that many farmers in each area sell the fertilizer they do not need to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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For the most part this was achieved after 1953 by transferring the stockshares of such enterprises as paper, mining, and cement to former landlords in payment for their government-purchased land (Chang, 1954:77–79; T'ang, 1954:164–173). But it was clear from the outset that some of these enterprises were less profitable than others and, as far as the landlords were concerned, less acceptable (Chang, 1954:79). Although it was common knowledge that many of the stockshares they received were not worth face value, the landlords could do little but grumble and complain.

After the issuance of the stockshares, business speculators frequently toured the countryside, telling the unwary stockshare holders that the value of the shares they held was very low. They offered cash for these shares at a slightly higher price than they were actually worth, and some landlords in the Hsin Hsing area sold out. Later, they learned that the stock values had risen and that they had been "cheated." This happened mostly to small landlords who lacked business experience. It added to dissatisfaction over the land reform and the feeling that the government had ruined the landlords.

A middle-aged man from one of the formerly big landlord families in the Hsin Hsing area spoke critically of the Land Reform Program and of how it hurt the landlord. Despite his bitterness, however, he admitted that "now the landlord no longer can spend all his time playing around drinking, gambling, and seeing shows. Now, in order to live, he must go out to work and do business. In the old days if the landlord played a lot and needed more money to finance his entertainment, he could just raise his rents."

But, much more important, the Land Reform Program had a major effect on the landlord class in the Hsin Hsing area and possibly in Taiwan generally, and as a result a major effect on the general economy of Taiwan and thus on life in many villages. Before land reform it was traditional in China for the wealthy to buy land for investment or simply for purposes of security. To these landlords, and especially to many urban people, the Land Reform Program made it evident that it was no longer profitable nor even safe to invest their capital in the land. Instead, these people, in addition to their forced participation in industry through being paid in shares of stock for expropriated land, have now in many cases begun to shift their excess capital willingly into industrial, commercial, and small business activities in urban centers and in the smaller market towns. When money was invested in the small market towns, it usually went into financing light industry or small businesses and often meant that the investor needed new technical knowledge. In some cases, the landlords or their sons became greatly involved in business activities, gradually sold off portions of the three *chia* of land which they had been allowed to retain under

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the land reform act, and used the money for additional investments.

Many former landlords have done poorly at business, and some have even failed because of their lack of experience and training. Others have maintained their economic investments in the villages. Several formerly large landholders in the two villages adjacent to Hsin Hsing continue their activities in their villages and the surrounding area very much as before. Although their landholdings were cut significantly by the land reform, they nevertheless retain their maximum three *chia* of land. Also, in some instances, a number of landlords prior to the 1953 act managed to retain control of more than the three *chia* limit by legally dividing their family and then transferring portions of their land to the names of other members of their family. By virtue of their positions many landlords, especially those who worked as minor officials or civil servants in the local administration or who were well acquainted with officials, became aware of the ins and outs of the proposed land reform laws and so knew exactly how to manipulate their landholdings legally in order to retain as much land as possible.

Even today landlords may, and do, buy land in excess of three *chia* and then hire laborers to till it for them. As long as they do not rent the land out they seem to be safe from legal action. A few landlords who manage to buy additional land are still doing so in the names of other members of their family and in such cases then actually rent the land out to tenants. But it appears that the fear of another Land Reform Program in the future, as well as the increased movement of the landlords' economic interests outside the rural area, serves to deter many landlords from attempting to reaccumulate landholdings, even by the devious but legal means.

Another frequent activity of landlords who have chosen to maintain their economic interests in the Hsin Hsing area is that of moneylending. The small farmer, having little to offer as security, still continues to resort to the local moneylender for cash or other loans. The local moneylender lends fairly large amounts for longer periods of time than any agency of the government or association but, of course, at extremely high interest rates.

The landlords will continue to engage in moneylending as long as the farmer has credit difficulty. If a good profit can be made from moneylending, it is evident that the wealthy landlords will not willingly transfer their economic interests into more productive economic activities.

Traditionally, the village landlord has played a major role in the leadership of his village and its immediate vicinity. During the Japanese period, such leadership roles were greatly reinforced by the Japanese, who preferred to handle village problems through the wealthy landlord class rather than by dealing directly with the "peas-

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ants." The Hsin Hsing villagers readily recall that the local Japanese police and officials showed respect only for the well-to-do landlords. Consequently, if the villagers were to get along successfully with the Japanese, they had to work through their landlords. They usually elected a landlord to handle local village affairs and to represent village interests in dealing with the Japanese authorities.

The arrangement was also to the landlord's advantage. As the official leader, he wielded greater power by which he could more easily manipulate the villagers, and even the tax collector, to his own advantage. His recognition as a leader by his fellow villagers and by the authorities also increased his prestige.

Not only was such a landlord the elected village political leader but he might often be an informal leader as well, a person who took an active part in most of the social and religious affairs of the village. He usually contributed money and time to help make these affairs a success. The efforts of the landlord helped to build up his reputation as a public-spirited citizen. Frequently, he assumed the role of mediator in discussions of village and intervillage problems and in disputes between his own villagers or even between members of other villages. When the landlord's efforts as a mediator extended beyond his own village, he enhanced his own reputation in the whole area and that of his village as well.

These conditions continued after the restoration into the post-land reform period. Today, the landlord class continues in the rural area and wields power in local grass roots politics as well as in socioeconomic affairs. In most villages the recognized leaders are still those who are rich, maintain big landholdings, and have had a fairly good education. Such people may also have influence—perhaps by virtue of a relative—in some government agency. It is still a great advantage to a village to have a wealthy representative of the landlord class to deal successfully with authorities. Many, if not most of the government officials, are drawn from this class, since they are educated and usually wealthy.

However, this picture is beginning to change. Village affairs are being profoundly affected as many former large landlords and traditional local leaders transfer their economic interests and activities away from the land to new business interests elsewhere. When a landlord gives up his major economic interests in the area, it is usually not long before village social, religious, and political activities become much less important to him. Because the personal advantage is gone, he is no longer concerned with maintaining his status or leadership role. He may even move his residence out of the village in order to be closer to his new economic interests.

Villages suffering such a loss of local leadership have reacted in two

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either working or doing business in Taipei. This group was composed mostly of men, although a large number of boys above the age of sixteen and also some women and girls were included. Other than a small minority who have their own business, most of these men worked as pedicab drivers, coolie laborers, or clerks in stores. Men who have some land in the village usually have jobs driving a pedicab or pulling a vegetable cart which permit them freedom to return home for the harvest or other busy agricultural seasons. Some villagers, who have been in Taipei long enough to save some money, manage to buy their own pedicab or vegetable cart. Those who do not usually rent them by the day.

It is common for girls or women to work as cooks or domestic servants. Villagers who work as house servants or clerks have frequently been referred to their jobs through a relative, friend, or fellow villager before leaving the village. The villager usually lives in the home or store of the employer. On the other hand, the villager engaged in the other forms of labor usually shifts for himself. In such cases, if the man does not have his family in Taipei, he often shares a small room with several other villagers who also work in the city. The men share the room rent and get their meals at restaurants or sidewalk food stands.

If the young male villagers live in their employer's quarters, their activities are usually rather closely supervised. However, young males, especially those who work as pedicab drivers and live on their own, often get into trouble—drinking, gambling, frequenting bars, and visiting prostitutes. Sometimes they fall in with groups of boys who engage in gang fights. The boy's family first notices something is wrong when he fails to send money home. The family either questions other adult villagers who have returned from Taipei or writes to a villager in Taipei to discover what is wrong. When they find out about the boy's activities, they send word to him to return home.

Another group of young villagers likely to get into difficulties in Taipei is the younger married men who leave their wives in the village. Sometimes, they become involved with other women in the city or even take a second wife. This results in family conflict and occasionally leads to divorce and bad feeling between the husband's family and that of his first wife.

While most parents are aware of the possibly corrupting influences on their sons who go to Taipei, they nevertheless rationalize their fears because the additional income is so useful to the family. It is only after something happens and the boy is actually in trouble that they call him home.

Not only has working in Taipei had direct gross effects on the men who go there but it has also greatly affected the role of women and children who remain in the village.

463 most of the T'oulei business and vice versa for the
621 T'oulei electrician. Although it is now not considered a
628 direct exchange on a one-for-one basis as in barter, it is almost as if the two villages were trading services for there are felt obligations on each side. For most of the different kinds of technical services required in Sanlei there are regular known sources to be utilized with only a few alternatives. Going outside the boundaries, i.e., hiring an electrician from Hsin Tien instead of T'oulei for instance, will cause more comment and pressure than to do the job yourself. In a sense, Sanlei village may be perceived as a unit in a large system of units with which it engages in economic transactions. Although no single unit is self-sufficient, the larger collectivity could easily exist as a closed system in spite of the fact it is currently a part of a larger world market.

A Case of Technological Obsolescence

178 About 1935, a Mainlander who injured his foot in a
231 mine accident moved into Sanlei village to earn a living
472 since he could no longer work in the mines. As a boy in Fukien, he had learned to make the wooden clogs that were so popular in Taiwan. They were constructed of wood and saisal bands, both of which were available in the mountains near Sanlei. Since it was difficult for the Mainlander to travel to the mountains for the raw material and to town to sell the finished products, he brought two

178 neighbors into the business as partners. The business
291 seemingly filled a necessary niche and one man taught
472 another and before long, over 30 of the 40 families in Sanlei were engaged full-time or part-time in the clog business for a man often could earn more making clogs than he could as a farm laborer.

[458] Business dropped off slightly during the war be-
[177] cause of a shortage of labor although two villagers branched into the production of the thick Japanese clogs and installed a special machine in the village. After the war, there was another spurt in production but the plastic industry (replacing saisal bands) and mass production techniques came to Taiwan and as a result, the village clog business was totally wiped out within six months.

Both the inauguration of the clog business and its eventual demise were factors affecting village life. The inauguration was especially important for women's roles as will be illustrated.

178
423 The literature which deals with underdeveloped countries often calls attention to the shortage of land. In Sanlei village there is a felt need for more land, particularly paddy fields which is openly expressed and reflected in the artificially high price of the land. That is, the rate of return from a rented piece of paddy land is currently not as much as can be earned by selling

462 real support for the many village men who are full time
464 farm laborers or who are partially farm laborers and
476 partially tenants or owner-operators.

Tea Processors

245 There are three tea processing households in
472 Sanlei. One processor owns much land which he operates
627 almost totally with hired labor and processes little
[577] more than his own tea. Fifteen years ago he was caught using false weights to buy tea leaves from Sanlei farmers and villagers have never trusted him since. He and his wife are isolated from the rest of the village in social terms and both of their children are living and
[207] working in Taipei. The couple are reasonably well-off financially by village standards and own the second village television set which they watch alone without guests. Just about everyone else in the village watches the television set owned by the village store.

245 The other two processors pay identical prices
472 and offer identical services and share most of the rest of the village tea production except that part
[477] sold to a processor in Erhlei. Although each processor would like a larger share of the business, competition is on the basis of establishing good relations with sellers (farmers) rather than on service or price. One processor is named Liao and had the major share of business in the past. The other is named Chiu.

245 The Chiu family has produced a large crop of daughters in
472 recent years who have married into Liao families and Chiu
602 has subsequently been getting a larger share of business recently from ch'in ch'i (affinal relatives). Both processors have kinship relationships with many tea farmers, their own customers and their competitor's customers as well. Although kinship identities are only one aspect of the relationship (other aspects include such as sworn brothers, mutual friends, etc.), it is possible to approximately assess the relative strength of various kinship categories. That is, a man seldom will sell to another processor if his father, brother, father's brother, or mother's brother is a processor. However, he usually sells to his wife's father or wife's brother rather than a more distant kinsman on his own side of the family, i.e., a first or second cousin. As Chiu girls marry Liao boys, there is usually no immediate change, but as time passes so that a new generation takes over management of farm and processing from the old generation, some Chiu girls bring their Liao husband's tea production into the Chiu processing business.

245 Both processors periodically entertain the farmers
472 with whom they do most of their business. The tea farmers are divided into two groups, so to speak, each focusing on the respective processor to whom they sell most of their tea leaves.